## Message Text

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**ACTION ARA-10** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2524

CONFIDENTIAL BUENOS AIRES 6248

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, AR

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES LUDER'S ACCESSION WITH NUNCIO AND BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR

- 1. ON SEPT 16 I CALLED SUCCESSIVELY ON PAPAL NUNCIO AND BRAZILIAN AMB FOR EXCHANGE VIEWS PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE FOR UNITED STATES. PAPAL NUNCIO GAVE ME FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF EVENTS SURROUNDING MRS. PERON'S DELEGATION OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER TO LUDER, AND HIS VIEWS ON DEVELOPING SITUATION.
- 2. MRS. PERON'S DECISION TO TAKE LEAVE OF ABSENCE WITHIN COUNTRY WAS ARRIVED AT LATE EVENING SEPT 12. SHE HAD PREVIOUSLY ADVISED MILITARY VICAR TORTOLO THAT SHE WISHED TO TAKE LEAVE OUT OF COUNTRY, BUT HE CONVINCED HER THAT WOULD BE SERIOUS POLITICAL MISTAKE. MININTERIOR DAMSCO COUNSELLED HER TO TAKE LEAVE WITHOUT DELEGATION PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY OR, FAILING THAT, TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS ON LUDER. INDICATIVE OF MRS. PERON'S CONFUSED EMOTIONAL STATE AT THE TIME, PAPAL NUNCIO SAID SHE WISHED TO DRAMATIZE CHANGEOVER BY "FEIGNING" ILLNESS AND HAVING TRANSFER TELEVISED WITH HER IN HER SICK BED AT OLIVOS. MILITARY FINALLY PERSUADED MRS. PERON TO HAVE "NORMAL" TURNOVER CEREMONY AND TO GRANT LUDER FULL DISCRETION AND EXERCISE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER.

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- 3. SEPT 13 CEREMONY WAS CHARACTERIZED BY PAPAL NUNCIO AS IMPROVISED AND COMPLETELY DISORGANIZED. HE DESCRIBED MRS. PERON AS "PATHETIC AND NEUROTIC" AND THE ATMOSPHERE AS "HIGHLY EMOTIONAL".
- 4. THE DECISION TO HAVE WIVES OF THE THREE MILITARY COMMANDERS ACCOMPANY MRS. PERON TO ASCOCHINGA WAS DESCRIBED BY PAPAL NUNCIO AS COURTESY ON PART OF AIR FORCE COMMANDER FAUTARIO. AS ASCOCHINGA IS AIR FORCE PROPERTY, FAUTARIO INVITED OTHER WIVES TO AVOID APPEARANCE HE ATTEMPTING TO GAIN ADVANTAGE OVER OTHER MILITARY COMMANDERS. PAPAL NUNCIO STATED THAT ALL MILITARY COMMANDERS WERE HIGHLY SATISFIED WITH LUDER TAKING OVER THE PRESIDENCY.
- 5. COMMENTING ON PERSONALITIES, THE APAPAL NUNCIO DESCRIBED MRS. PERON AS A "SICK, NEUROTIC CHILD," LUDER AS A "PROPER, FORMAL, CORRECT AND AMBITIOUS MAN", AND GEN VIDELA AS A FIRM INSTITUTIONALIST WHO KNOWS HE DOES NOT HAVE QUALITIES TO BECOME PRESIDENT AND WHO ONLY SEEKS TO MAINTAIN INSTITUTIONALISM OF MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT OTHER POTENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL FIGURES, HE MENTIONED MINECONOMY CAFIERO AND BA GOVERNOR CALABRO. REGARDING POSSIBLE EXTENSION OF LEAVE OF MRS. PERON, HE SAID HE BELIEVED SHE WISHED TO RETURN AS PRESIDENT, BUT THAT EVERYTHING NOW DEPENDED ON HOW WELL LUDER CARRIED OUT PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN FORTHCOMING WEEKS. HE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT SHOULD LUDER PROVE TO BE EFFECTIVE PRESIDENT, MRS. PERON MIGHT NOT REASSUME THE PRESIDENCY, EITHER BY HER OWN DECISION OR BY "PERSUASION" FROM NATIONAL FORCES COMPRISING PERONISTS, LABOR AND MILITARY.

6. PAPAL NUNCIO CLASSIFED LUDER'S ABRUPT DISMISSAL OF MINISTERS DAMASCO AND GARRIDO AS POLITICAL SHOCK TACTICS WHICH WERE IMPERATIVE GIVEN THE SITUATION.HE SAID LUDER NEEDED TO DEMONSTRATE IMMEDIATELY THAT HE WAS IN CHARGE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THAT HE WOULD BE CARRYING OUT PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES WITH FULL AUTHORITY. HE EXPRESSED OPINION THAT LUDER WOULD EXERCISE HIS AUTHORITY THROUGH CONGRESS, WHERE HE HAD HIS MAJOR SUPPORT.IT WOULD, THEREFORE, BE A PRESIDENCY BASED ON LEGALITY AND CONSTITITIONAL AND CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY. HE SAID THAT MILITARY AND PART OF LABOR, PRIMARILY ANTIVERTICALIST GROUP OF 8, CGT AND SUPPORTERS OF GOVERNOR CALABRO, WOULD ALSO FIRMLY SUPPORT LUDER. CONFIDENTIAL

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7. LOOKING AT PRESENT PANORAMA, PAPAL NUNCIO SAID HE WOULD STILL DESCRIBE SITUATION AS VERY DARK BUT WITH SEVERAL RAYS OF LIGHT. ONE BIT OF LIGHT WAS THE MILITARY, WHICH WAS MORE FULLY UNITED THAN EVER IN SUPPORT INSTITUTIONS AND WITH A CLEAR VISION OF WHAT IT SOUGHT FOR THE COUNTRY. ANOTHER BIT OF LIGHT WAS EMANATING FROM WITHIN THE PERONIST MOVEMENT. HE COMMENTED THAT THE COUNTRY IS NOW ENTERING THE THIRD STAGE

OF PERONISM; THE FIRST HAVING BEEN PERON'S FIRST PRESIDENCY, AND THE SECOND LASTING FROM 1973 TO THE SEPT 12, 1975 ASSUMPTION OF PRESIDENCY BY LUDER. DURING THIS THIRD STAGE HE EXPECTS THE MYTH OF PERON TO BE REPLACED BY THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT. AS PERONISM IS A FORCE WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO INFLUENCE COUNTRY, PAPAL NUNCIO BELIEVES RECENTLY FORMED PERONIST AFFIRMATION GROUP OFFERED POSSIBILITY THAT PERONISM WOULD INDEED CHANGE FROM "PERSONALISTIC PERONIST" TO DEMOCRATIC, INSTITUTIONAL "JUSTICIALIST" MOVEMENT. A THIRD RAY OF LIGHT, HE SAID, WAS WITHIN LABOR MOVEMENT WHERE CERTAIN GROUPS WERE ALSO CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE. THE RESPONSIBLE LABOR GROUPS HE MENTIONED DID NOT RPT NOT INCLUDE SUPPORTERS OF 62 ORGANIZATIONS LEADER LORENZO MIGUEL.

8. IN RESPONSE TO MY REQUEST FOR HIS VIEWS ON MINECONOMY CAFIERO'S TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES, THE APAPAL NUNCIO COMMENTED THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS HIS VISIT HAD NOT MET WITH SUCCESS. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FULLY THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT COULD NOT GRANT GOA THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND AID REQUESTED UNTIL ARGENTINA'S POLITICAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WERE RESOLVED. HE EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR MIN CAFIERO, BUT SAID THAT SUCCESS OF HIS EFFORTS DEPENDED NOW MORE ON LUDER PRESIDENCY THAN ON CAFIERO HIMSELF.

7. BRZILIAN AMB PINHEIRO GREETED ME BY ANNOUNCING HE WAS SUMMONED TO MEET FONMIN ROBLEDO IN FORTY MINUTES FOR A CHAT, BUT DID NOT KNOW WHAT SUBJECT WOULD BE. WHILE NOT AS FORTHCOMING AS PAPAL NUNCIO, AMB PINHEIRO'S ASSESSMENT WAS THAT LUDER'S TEMPORARY ACCESSION TO THE PRESIDENCY WAS A POSTIVIE MOVE. HE THOUGHT LUDER WAS AN ABLE POLITICIAN WHO HAD MANEUVERED TO BE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE IN SPITE OF OPPOSTION FROM MRS. PERON. LUDER GAINED ADDED SUPPORT FROM ARMED FORCES BY HIS EARLY ACTION IN REMOVING DAMSCO FROM POST OF MIN OF CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERIOR.

8. AMB PINHEIRO EXPECTED ROBLEDO, WHOM HE KNOWS WELL, TO RETAIN FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR A WHILE, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH INTERIOR MINISTRY. ROBLEDO MIGHT THUS STILL BE ABLE TO TRAVEL TO NEW YORK FOR UNGA. PINHEIRO PROMISED TO PROVIDE ANY NEW INSIGHTS AFTER MEETING WITH ROBLEDO. HILL

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: GOVERNMENT REFORM, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL LEADERS

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 16 SEP 1975 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BUENOS06248

Document Number: 1975BUENOS06248 Document Source: CORE Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Film Number: D750321-0124 From: BUENOS AIRES Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750946/aaaaboab.tel Line Count: 162 Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Office: ACTION ARA Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3

Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: n/a

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: GolinoFR

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 04 SEP 2003

**Review Event:** 

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 SEP 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <01 DEC 2003 by GolinoFR>

**Review Markings:** 

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**Review Media Identifier:** Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES LUDER'S ACCESSION WITH NUNCIO AND BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR TAGS: PGOV, PINT, AR To: STATE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006